

THEMATIC AND LINGUISTIC PARALLELS IN THE ACHAEMENIAN AND SASSANIAN INSCRIPTIONS

A comparison of the Achaemenian and Sassanian inscriptions reveals some close thematic and linguistic parallels¹. In the absence of any West-Iranian literary records from the time between the Old Persian and the Middle Iranian inscriptions we cannot tell whether the similarities are to be ascribed to some local (oral) literary tradition², or to some exterior influence; however, it seems we have to accept as a fact that there must have been some kind of connection between the older and the younger inscriptions. This will become clear from the text passages presented in the following³. I have selected for comparison certain themes common to the Achaemenian and Sassanian inscriptions.

A. *Presentation of the king, his descent, and his realm*⁴

Many inscriptions contain no more than this. In the longer inscriptions it usually serves as an introduction. In the Sassanian inscriptions

¹ Ph. Gignoux (*Journal Asiatique*, 1979, 45f.) is to my knowledge the first to have pointed out one set of such parallels.

² Cf. M. Boyce, *Middle Persian Literature* (Handbuch der Orientalistik I, IV Iranistik, 2 Literatur, Lief. 1) p. 31: '(...) only during (...) the Sasanian epoch (c. 224-652 A.C.) did Persian literature begin to evolve from an oral (...) to a written (...) form'. and '(...) a number of individual works [from the Sasanian period] appear to be simply oral products of considerable antiquity (...)'.
³ Old Persian is quoted from R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*, second edition, revised, New Haven, Connecticut, 1953, with the additions found in M. Mayrhofer, *Supplement zur Sammlung der altpersischen Inschriften*, Wien, 1978. The transcription of Old Persian follows the principles laid down by K. Hoffmann (Zur altpersischen Schrift, Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik 2, 620-45). The Sassanian inscriptions are quoted from the current editions, see Ph. Gignoux, *Glossaire des inscriptions pehlevies et parthes*, London, 1972 (Corpus inscriptionum iranicarum, supplementary series, vol. 1), pp. 9-14, 43-44; Ph. Gignoux, 'L'inscription de Kirdir à Naqš-e Rostam', *Studia Iranica*, I, 177-205; M. Back, *Die sassanidischen Staatsinschriften*, Leiden-Téhéran-Liège (Acta Iranica 18). The Paikuli inscription is quoted from H. Humbach and P. O. Skjærvø, *The Sassanian inscription of Paikuli*, part 3.1 Restored text and translation by P. O. Skjærvø, Wiesbaden, 1983. The sigla of the inscriptions are from Kent's *Old Persian* and Gignoux's *Glossaire*.

⁴ An interesting discussion of the literary form of the Old Persian inscriptions and their models is found in J. Harmatta, 'The literary patterns of the Babylonian edict of Cyrus', *Ac. Ant. Acad. Scient. Hungaricae*, XIX, 1971, 217-31.

the royal generalogies all conform to the same pattern, but in the Old Persian ones the patterns vary from king to king. Examples:

DB 1.1-13:

*adam Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya vazarka
xšāyaθi[ya xšāya]θiyānām
xšāyaθiya Pārsaiy xšāyaθiya
daḥa[yūnām]
Vištāspahayā puça*

*Aršāmahayā napā
Haxāmaniš[iya]*

ŠKZ Pa 1:

*ANE mzdyn ALHA šhyphwr
MLKYN MLKA
'ry'n W 'ny'ry'n
MNW šyhr MN y'ztn
BRY mzdyn ALHA 'rthštr
MLKYN MLKA 'ry'n
MNW šyhr MN y'ztn
BRYLBRY AL[HA] p'pk ML[KA]*

Similarly in AmH, which continues:

*θātiy Ariyāramna xšāyaθiya
iyam dahayāuš Pārsā
taya adam dārayāmiy*

(ŠKZ Pa 1-2:)
'ry'nštr hwtwy HWYm
W HHSNWm hš[tr p]'rs (etc.)

DB: 'I am Darius, the great king, king of kings, king in Pārs, king of lands, son of Vištāspa, grandson of Aršāma, an Achaemenian'. — AmH: 'Ariyāramna the king says: This land Pārs, which I hold (etc.)'. — ŠKZ: 'I am the Mazdaean lord Šābuhr, king of kings of Iranians and Non-Iranians, whose seed is from the gods, son of the Mazdaean lord Ardašēr, king of king of Iranians, whose seed is from the gods, grandson of the lord Pābag, the king. I am the ruler of Ērānšahr. And I hold (the following) lands: Pārs (etc.)'.

The chief differences between the Achaemenian and the Sassanian genealogies are: (i) in Old Persian, Auramazdā gives the king his power, whereas the Sassanian king is of divine descent; (ii) the Achaemenian king was king of Pārs and (other) lands, the Sassanian king was king of Iranians and Non-Iranians, and Pārs was only one part of the empire.

B. Description of the empire

The lists of lands or provinces belonging to the empire are variously introduced in Old Persian, cf.:

DB 1.13-14 *imā dahayāva tayā manā [pat]iyāiša vašnā Auramazdāha [a]damšām xšāyaθiya āham Pārsa* (etc.) 'These lands which came to me, by the favour of Auramazdā, I was their king: Pārs (etc.)'.

DPe 6-10 *vašnā Auramazdāhā imā dahayāva taya adam adaršiy hadā anā Pārsā kārā tayā hacāma atarsa manā bājim abara Ūvja* (etc.) 'By the

favour of Auramazdā, these lands which I obtained with that Persian people/army, which feared me and paid tribute (are): Ūvja (etc.).

DPh 4-5 *ima xšačam taya adam dārayāmiy* 'This realm which I hold.'

DNa 16-20 *vašnā Auramazdāhā im[ā] dahayāva tayā adam aḡar-bāya[m] apataram hacā Pārsā adamšā[m] patiyaxšayaīy manā bājim aba[ra]ha* 'By the favour of Auramazdā, these (are) the lands which I seized beyond Pārs. I ruled them. They bore tribute to me'.

With these compare ŠKZ Pa 1 *W HHSNWm hš[tr p]'rs* (etc.) 'And We hold the lands Pārs (etc.)'; Pa 17 *pty y'ztn pwšt ZNE 'wnt hštr YBOEm W HHSNWm* 'with the help of the gods We claimed and hold these many lands'. Cf. also Pa 4 *pty b'z HQAYMWt* 'he (Philippos) was made tributary'.

Note the following close correspondences: *aḡarbāyam*: *AHDt (grifti)*; *bājim abara*: *pty b'z HQAYMWt (awestād)*; *dārayāmiy, adāraya, aḡaršiy*: *HHSNWm (dārām)*; *vašnā Auramazdāha*: *pty y'ztn pwšt*.

A curious similarity is found between Darius's characterisation of the empire in DNa and that of Kirdēr in KKZ:

DNa 39-47 *[a]vā dahayāva tayā Dāraya[v]auš xšāya[θ]iya adāraya patikarā dīdiy tayaī[y] gāθum bara"tiy a[va]dā xšnāsāhəy adataiy azdā bavā[t]iy Pār[sa]hə[yā] martiyahəyā dūrai y'ztn parāgmatā ... Pārsa martiya dūrayapiy [hac]ā Pārsā partaram patiyajātā* 'Those lands which Darius the king held, — look at the sculptures which bear the throne. Then you will know, then it will be clear to you that the spear of the Persian soldier has gone far abroad. ... The Persian soldier has fought battles far away from Pārs'.

KKZ 11-12 *PWNc 'nyl'n štry... AYK SWSYA W GBRA ZY MLKAn MLKA YHMTWN 'ndywky štrdstn* (etc.) 'and in Anērān-šahr ... where(ever) the horses and men of the King of Kings have reached' ⁵.

Narseh in NPī describes the Persian empire in quite different terms:

NPī 44-46/41-43 §§ 92-93 (Middle Persian version reconstructed) *ud Kušan šāh ud ... ud abārig šahryār [... pad pand ud] pāyēs ī amāh ēstēnd* 'And the King of Kušan and ... and the other Princes (...) abode by Our (advice and) counsel' ⁶.

⁵ Cf. Ph. Gignoux, *Ac. Ant. Acad. Scient. Hungaricae*, XIX, 1971, 90f.

⁶ See Humbach and Skjærvø, *The Sassanian inscription of Paikuli*, part 3.2 Commentary by P. O. Skjærvø., Wiesbaden, 1983, 120.

C. *The ideal qualities of a good king and the state of the land under such a king*

Such qualities are mentioned in the Old Persian inscriptions and play a prominent and important role in NPi in the discussion between Narseh and the dignitaries about who is most fit to become king.

In the Old Persian inscriptions the king is said to receive his realm (or 'ruling power' *xšaçaṃ*) from Auramazdā:

DB 1.11 *va[šnā] Auramazdāha adam xšayaθiya amiy Auramazdā xšaçaṃ manā [fr]ābara* 'By the favour of Auramazdā am I king. Auramazdā gave me the realm'.

In NPi the god-given attributes of kingship are more numerous. They are 'realm' (*šahr*), 'rulership' (*šahr-xwadāyih*), 'royal splendour' or 'fortune' (*GDE* = *xwarrah*), 'throne' (*ALŠA* = *gāh*), 'diadem' (*dēdēm*), and 'honour' (*padixšar*), all 'given' (*dād*) by the gods or 'received' (*padirift*) from them:

NPi 8/7 § 18 MP *GDE W NPŠE ALŠ[A W] pthšly ZY nyd'k'n MN yzd'n MKBL[WN]* 'the royal splendour and Your own throne and the honour which Your ancestors received from the gods'.

NPi 26/23 § 53 Pa [... y]'ztn *GDE W h[štr]-hwtwypy OL LN YNTNt* 'that the gods had given Us the royal splendour and the rulership'.

Cf. also the following Manichaean text (M 729, Boyce, Reader *cr* 10): *pydr'y xwy pwsq dydym 'c pydr 'whrmzdbay* 'you shall receive helmet, garland, diadem from Ohrmizdbay' (rewards after death).

The qualities of a good king and the state of the land under a good king are seen in the following Old Persian passages:

DB 4.37-40 *tuvam kā x[šāyaθiya ha]ya aparam āhay hacā draugā daršam patipayauvā mart[iya haya drau]jana ahatiy avam ufraštam pārsā yadiy avaθā man[iyāhaiy] dahayāušmaiy duruvā ahatiy* 'You who shall be the next king keep yourself strongly protected from the Lie. The man who is a liar, punish him well if you think, "May my land be healthy!"'.

DPe 19-24 *yadiy avaθā maniyāhay hacā anīyanā mā [ta]rsam imam Pārsam kāram pādīy yadiy kāra Pārsa pāta ahatiy hayā duvaiš[ta]m šīyātīš axšatā hauvcīy aurā⁷ nīrsātīy abiy imām viṭam* 'If you think thus, "May I not fear another!", then protect this Persian people. If the Persian people is protected, then for the longest time peace unbroken will descend upon this house'.

⁷ See K. Hoffmann, MSS, VIII, 1956, 9 (Aufsätze 2, 390f.).

DNb 1-13, 45-49 *baga vazarka Auramazdā ... haya xraθum utā aruvastam upariy Dārayavaum xšāyaθiyam nīyasaya ... tayā rāstam dau[št]ā amiy miθa na[i]y dauštā amiy ... taya rāstam ava mām kāma martiyam draujanam naiy daušt[ā] ... utā ūvnaṛā tayā Auramazdā [upa]r[iy mā]m nīyasaya utādiš atāvayam barta[nai]y vašnā Auramazdāhā tayamaiy kartaṁ imaibiš ūvnaṛaibiš akunavam* 'A great god is Auramazdā ... who bestowed wisdom and activity upon Darius the king. ... I like that which is right. I do not like wrongness. ... I wish for that which is right. I do not like a man who lies. ... And the skills which Auramazdā bestowed upon me and which I could carry, by the favour of Auramazdā, what I did, that I did with these skills'.

With this compare the following passages from the Paikuli inscription:

NPi 33/30 § 68 (cf. 34/31 § 70, 36/33 § 73):

MN šhpwhr[y]] W PWN yzd'n krtk'ly[t]ly

MN šhyphwr MLKA r'štr W pty y'ztn [.....]

[y]wp Š[PY]R W AHR ZNE 'yr'n-štry NTL[WNtwmy W drwdstly]

[.....]

'twky d'štny W plm't[ny]

.....] p[rmytn]

'than King Šābuhr more righteous and more officious in the service of the gods, or better, and (who) hereafter may be able to keep this Ērānšahr more protected (and healthier) and to govern (it)'.

NPi 39/35 § 78:

[..... drwd]stly [W N]TLWNtwmy YKOYMWNT

'ry'n-hštr 'dyn drw[y]šttr W NTRt[st]r [.....]

'Ērānšahr will then stay healthier and more protected'.

NPi 39/36 § 79:

[.....] yzd'n l'sty-kltk'n [.....]

ZK MNW pty y'ztn r'št-[krtkny ... hw]nr'wnt HWYt

'this one who performs the most correct acts with respect to the gods (...) and who is virtuous (or: skilled)'.

NPi 40/37 § 81:

[..... pl]hwyhy W plz'nkyhy (...)

MNW] y'ztn prksywt HWYt [W pty] prznkpy [.....]

'(whom) the gods have favoured (and who by) his/Your fortune and wisdom (...)'.
(...)'.

NPi 41/38 § 85: (Pa) [... p'rsn k]ry prmytn W dwšmnyn ptyshw YNTNtn 'who is able to govern the affairs (or: the people) of the Persians and answer the enemies'.

Cf. also the Manichaean text BT XI 1692-6 *byd w'xtg kw šhr pnj 'yr pd brhm nxšg '(š)tyd, 'yw (k)w xwd'y (wzrg u hynz'wr) '(c) 'ndr m'nyd ky (šhr prwrzyd ')[wd] dwšmy[nyn] ('d)b'(r)g d'ryd* 'Ferner ist gesagt, daß das Reich durch fünf Punkte von glücksbegünstigter Art ist. Erstens, daß ein großer und mächtiger Herr drinnen wohnt, der das Reich pflegt und den Feinden *Widerstand leistet'. (W. Sundermann.)

Note the close correspondences *druvā*: **druyistar*, **druwištistar*; *kāra pārša*: *Pārsān kār*; *pāta*: **pādtom*, **pādistar*; *rāstam daušta*: *rāštistar*, *rāst-kirdagān*; *ūvnarā*: **hunarāwand*; *xraθum*: *frazānag*.

D. Restoration and consolidation of the state religion

This theme is touched upon by Darius in DB 5.15-20 and is dealt with at length by Xerxes in XPh. It plays an important part in the inscriptions of Kirdēr.

XPh 35-41 *utā a"tar aitā dahayāyā āha yadātaya paruvam daivā ayadiya pasāva vašnā Auramazdahā adam avam daivadānam viyakanam utā patiyazbayam daivā mā yadiyaiša yadāyā paruvam daivā ayadiya avadā adam Auramazdām ayadaiy artaacā brazmaniya* 'And in these lands there were some places where formerly the daivas were worshipped. Then by the favour of Auramazdā I destroyed that sanctuary of the daivas and proclaimed, "The daivas may not be worshipped!" Where formerly the daivas were worshipped, there I worshipped Auramazdā according to Truth, with barsom in the hands'⁸.

KKZ 9-10 *W 'hlmny W ŠDYAn LBA sn'hy W bštyhy QDM YHMTWN W kyšy ZY 'hlmny W ŠDYAn MN štry ODYTN W 'wb'ply 'kylydy ... W 'wzdysy gwk'nyhy W glsty ZY ŠDYAn wyšwpyhy W yzd'n g'sy W nšdmy 'kylydy* 'And Ahrimen and the devils there befell great blows and torment, and the faith in Ahrimen and the devils left the land and was rendered unworthy of belief. (...) And the idols were destroyed and the abodes of the devils were dismantled and turned into a place (or: throne) and residence for the gods'.

KKZ 14 *W KBYR ANŠWTA ZY 'nstw'n YHWWN ZK 'stw'n YHWWN W KBYR ZK YHWWN MNW kyšy ZY ŠDYAn d'sty APš MN LY klty ZK kyšy ZY ŠDYAn ŠBKWN APš kyšy ZY yzd'n OHDWN* 'And many people who were unbelievers, those became believers. And many were those who believed in the devils, but by my

⁸ My translation of *artaacā brazmaniya* follows that of K. Hoffmann (in lectures).

work they relinquished the faith in the devils and took the faith in the gods'.

Note the lexical correspondence *viyakanam*: *gwk'nyhy*.

E. *Statements about the inscriptions themselves*

These passages contain some of the most striking parallels between the Old Persian and the Sassanian inscriptions.

DB 4.40-43 *θātiy Dā[raya]va[uš] xšāyaθiya ima taya adam akunavam vašnā Auramazdāha [ha]ma[ha]yāyā θarda akunavam tuvam kā haya aparam imām dipi[m] patiparsāhay taya manā kartam varnavatām θuvām mātaya dra[uga]m maniyāhay* 'Saith Darius the king: This is what I did. By the favour of Auramazdā, in one and the same year I did it. You who shall hereafter read this inscription, believe that which I have done. Do not think it a lie'.

DB 4.45-50 *θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya vašnā Aura[mazdāha] utā-maiy aniyašciy vasiy astiy kartam ava ahayāyā d[i]p[iy]ā naiy nipištām avahayarādiy naiy nipištām māta[ya haya apa]ram imām dipim pati-parsātiy avahayā paruv θadā[taiy taya] manā kartam naiš[im] ima varnavātaiy duruxtam maniyā[taiy]* 'Saith Darius the king: By the favour of Auramazdā and Me much else has been done. That has not been written in this inscription. It was not written lest he who shall hereafter read this inscription, to him what I have done seem too much and he do not believe it but think it a lie'.

With this we can compare the following:

ŠKZ MP 21-22 *[APn AHRN]c [K]BYR š[ry BOYHWN]st W KBYR ŠM W nywyhy klty [ZY TNE L]A Y[KTYBWN BR]A ZNE 'ndy M[N] H[NA] krty prm[ty YKTYBWNtn AY]K MNW AHR YHWWN ZK ŠM W [...]; Pa 16-17 W LN AHRNš ŠGYA hštr YBOt W ŠGYA ŠME W ΘBpy OBDt ME TNE LA KTYBt byš ZK 'wnt MN ZK krty 'wpdšt KTYBt AYK MNW BATR MNN YHYE ZNE ŠME ΘBpy W hwtwypy ME LN YDOEd* 'And We claimed many other lands, too, and did deeds of much renown and valour which are not written here. However, We ordered this much to be written for the reason that he who comes after Us shall know this Our renown and valour and rule'.

KKZ 16-17 *APm PWN NPŠE BYTA AHRNc kltn ZY yzd'n gwnky gwnky KBYR klty ZYm HT QDM ZNE n'mky YKTYBWN HWE ADYN KBYR YHWWN HWE BRAM ZNE n'mky OLE r'dy YKTYBWN AYK MNW pl'stly ODNA p'thštly ... 'ywp AHRN n'mky HZYTNT ZK YDOYTNt AYK...* 'And at my own expense I did much

other various service to the gods which if it were written in this inscription, would be too much. However, I wrote this inscription for this reason, that he who in future time sees deeds and letters (etc.), he should know that ...'.

F. About following the example of the author of the inscription

Of course, the author of the inscription himself was a good and religious man, favoured and helped by the gods, and the reader is exhorted to follow this example. Cf.:

DB 4.72-76 *yadiy imām dī[pim] vaināh[ay] imaiṽ patikarā naiydiṣ vikanāḥay utātaiy yāvā taumā [ahatiy] paribarāḥaḍiṣ Auramazdā θuvām dauštā biyā utātaiy tau[mā] vasiy bī[y]ā utā dargam jivā utā taya kunavāḥay avataiy Auramazdā ucāram kunautuv* 'If you see this inscription and these pictures and do not destroy them but protect them as long as you can, then may Auramazdā be your friend and may you have much family and may you live long and whatever you may do, may Auramazdā make it easy for you'.

With this passage compare:

ŠKZ MP 35 *AYK MNW AHR LNE MROHY YHWWN ZK yzt'n hwplst'tly W hwk'mktly YHWWNd AYK OLEc yzty ZNE-ṽgwn hdbry YHWWNd cygwn LNE YHWWN*; Pa 29-30 *'ws ṽgwn LN 'pr y'ztn CBW W krtkny twhšywm W y'ztn dstkrt HWYm W pty y'ztn 'dywrpy ZNE 'wnt hštr YBOt W HHSNNt ŠME W ΘBpý OBDt LHwyš MNW BATR MN LN YHYE W pryhw HWYt LHwyš 'pr y'ztn CBW W krtkny twhšywd AYK y'zt 'dywr YHYEnt W dstkrt OBDWnt* (translation of the Pa:) 'Now as We exert Ourselves in the matters and the service of the gods and are the creature of the gods, (therefore) with the assistance of the gods did We claim and hold all these lands and do deeds of renown and valour. Also he who comes after Us, and who is of good fortune, he too should exert himself in the matters and the service of the gods so that the gods may assist him and make him their creature'.

The point was elaborated by Xerxes:

XPh 46-56 *tuva kā haya apara yadi-maniyāiy šiyāta ahaniy jiva utā marta ąrtāvā ahaniy avanā dātā parīdiy taya Auramazdā niyaštāya Auramazdām yaḍaišā ąrtaacā brazmaniya martiya haya avanā dātā pariyaita taya Auramazdā ništāya utā Auramazdām yadataiy ąrtaacā brazmaniya hauv utā jiva šiyāta bavatiy utā marta ąrtāvā bavatiy* 'You

who shall be hereafter, if you think, "May I be happy while alive and may I become blessed when dead!", then behave according to the law which Auramazdā established. Worship Auramazdā according to Truth, with barsom in the hands. The man who behaves according to the law which Auramazdā established and worships Auramazdā according to Truth, with barsom in the hands, he will both be happy while alive and blessed when dead'.

With this statement we can compare the following one by Kirdēr:

KKZ 18-19 (KNRb 13-22) *W MNW ZNE n'mky HZYTNT W ptpwls't ZK PWN yzd'n W MROHYn W NPŠE lwb'n l'ty W l'sty 'yw YHWWN ZK-'wgwn cygwn ANE YHWWN HWE m AYKš LZNE 'stwndy tny hws lwbyhy W 'p'tyhy YHMTWNT APS'OLE 'stwndy lwb'n 'lt'dyhy QDM YHMTWNT; KNRb 20-22 W MNW klpkly HWE W QDM klpky TBw SGYTNt OLE LZNE 'stwndy ... 'lt'dyhy QDM YHMTWNT cygwn LY krtyr YHMTWN* 'And he who sees this inscription and reads it, may he be generous and truthful towards the gods and the lords and his own soul like I have been, so that this osseous body of his may have fame and prosperity, and yon osseous soul of his may have blessedness'; 'And he who does well and practises good deeds, may this osseous ... have blessedness like I Kirdēr had'. (Cf. footnote 1.)

The linguistic parallels in the passages quoted above under *E* and *F* are quite striking:

OP:

*utāmaiy aniyašciy vasiy astiy
kṛtam ava ahayāyā *dipiā naiy
nipištām mātaya ... paruv
θadayātaiy*

*avahayarādiy naiy nipištām
mātaya *haya *aparam imām
dipim patiparsātiy
(and:)
patikarā didiy ... *avadā
xšnāsāhəy
ima taya adam akunavam ...
vašnā Auramazdāha akunavam
Auramazdāmaiy upastām abara*

MP-Pa:

(ŠKZ) *u-n *aniz was ...
*kard *i *ēdar nē nibišt;*
(Pa) *ud amāh aniz was ...*
kird ēē ēd nē nibišt;
(KKZ) *u-m ... aniz kirdagān*
... was kard i-m agar abar
ēn nāmag nibišt hē ēg was
būd hē
(KKZ) *bē-m ēn nāmag ōy rāy*
nibišt kū kē frāstar zamān
... nāmag wēnād ān dānād
(and:)
kē ēn nāmag wēnād ud
pahibursād
(ŠKZ Pa) *pad yazadān*
adyāwarifi im āwand xsāhr
wxāšt ud dird

(and:)

*vašnā Auramazdāha ima xšačam
dārayāmiy*

(and:)

imā dahayāva tayā adam adaršiy

yadiy ... Auramazdā θuvām

dauštā biyā

(ŠKZ) *ōy-iz yazad ēnōwōn*

*hayār *bawānd čiyōn man būd;*

(Pa) *kū yazad adyāwar ahānd*

To conclude this far from exhaustive survey I should like to point out two further, interesting lexical correspondences.

In NPi 28/25-26 §§ 58-59 'Take (*OHDWN* = *gīr*) and bind (*OSLWN/ASRW* = *band*) Wahnām and ... bring (*HYTYW* = **āwāy* Pa) him bound (*ASRt* = *bast*) to Our court! And *Bayšābuhr ... bound (*OSLWN* = *bast*) Wahnām and brought (*HYTYWt* = *ānīd*, Pa *HYTYt* = **āwāst*) him bound (bsty) ... to Our court'. With this we can compare Old Persian DB 1.82 *basta anayatā*, 2.73 *agarbī[ya] anayatā*, 2.88 *agarbāya anaya abiy mām*, and further Avestan Vid 19.29 *bastəm vādaieiti*. We see that the MP and Pa here faithfully continue the Old Persian and the Avestan respectively. The expression is also known from Manichaean texts: **gīrwēd *bandēd* 'he takes and binds' (M. Boyce, *BSOAS*, XIII, 1951, 913).

My final example is the following: In KKZ the death of a king is reported by the formula *kū X šāhān šāh ō bayān gāh šud* 'When King X went to the place/throne of the lords'. In XPf 32-34 Xerxes says about his father *yaθāmaiy pitā Dārayavauš gāθavā ašiyava* 'When my father King D. went *gāθavā*'. This phrase is translated by Kent as '...went away from the throne'. K. Hoffmann rejected the interpretation of *gāθavā* as ablative and suggested the translation 'D. ging ordnungsgemäß', i.e. 'er starb eines natürlichen Todes'⁹. In my opinion the comparison with the Middle Persian expression suggests that we should translate the Old and Middle Persian expressions as follows: 'When my father went to his (allotted) place (in the beyond)' and 'When King X went to the (allotted) place of the lords (i.e. the kings¹⁰)'.

⁹ K. Hoffmann, *Copolla Linguistica*, (Festschrift Sommer) 1955 = Aufsätze 1, 55 n. 8.

¹⁰ Cf. the expression *ōy bay-awēšān bayān* 'His Majesty' and *ašmāh bay/bayān* 'Your Majesty' e.g. in NPi. Of course, the possibility that *bayān gāh* means 'the place of the gods' cannot be excluded.

Conclusion

The preceding short survey should have made it clear that the Sassanian inscriptions reveal affinities with both their 700-year-older pendants in Old Persian and their contemporary Manichaean texts. Still more parallels are to be found in the later Pahlavi literature. I feel reasonably sure that this can be accounted for by assuming the Sassanian and Manichaean authors both drew upon a common store of literary phrases and expressions. This may have been part of an early Sassanian literary corpus, written or oral, with roots perhaps reaching back into pre-Achaemenian times. As a matter of fact, A. Christensen inferred from the evidence of Greek authors that the Achaemenians possessed a royal epic¹¹. If that is true, then it is not improbable first that Darius and his successors were acquainted with this literature and made use of it in their inscriptions; and secondly that it may in some form or other have been preserved down to early Sassanian times. It is unlikely to have survived in its entirety, but parts of it may have been preserved under certain circumstances, e.g. in ritual recitations connected with coronation ceremonies, or even in the remains of the royal chronicles which we know to have existed and which were used for the composition of the late Sassanian Book of Kings¹².

Of other literary traditions in south-western Iran we have no certain evidence. The later Pahlavi literature is all of it Zoroastrian, and it seems a hopeless task to try to determine what in it may be of local origin. Nevertheless, it seems possible to me that some of the old material found its way into the didactic literature. We know that Old Persian teachers used to introduce myths of the 'good deeds of gods and great men' into their teaching¹³. Such literature was apparently known to the prophet Mani, as is indicated by the Manichaean text quoted above (p. 598). This text describes five things which make the land happy and five things which bring it ill-fortune and destruction. This kind of enumeration is typical of the wisdom literature. It does not seem to be too far-fetched an assumption that Darius, Xerxes, Šābuhr, Narseh, and Kirdēr all may have used literary language and formulas which they had so to speak learnt in school.

¹¹ See I. Gershevitch, *Old Iranian Literature* (Handbuch der Orientalistik I, IV Iranistik, 2 Literatur, Lief. 1), 10.

¹² See M. Boyce, *Middle Persian Literature*, 58 f.

¹³ Cf. I. Gershevitch, loc. cit. and M. Boyce, *op. cit.*, 51.